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# Municipal Control of Locations.

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A PAPER READ BY

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Fellow of the Royal Institute of Public Health, Fellow of the Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene (London),

AT THE

THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE ASSOCIATION OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS OF THE CAPE PROVINCE,

Held at Grahamstown

On 10th, 11th & 12th May, 1920.

PRESIDENT:
His Worship the Mayor of Stellenbosch
(Mr. Councillor PAUL D. CLUVER, O.B.E., J.P.)

Grahamstown:
GROCOTT & SHERRY,
PRINTERS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This paper is presented not with the idea of contributing anything original, but solely for the purpose of drawing your attention to one of the most important problems of the future and one that may shortly be brought to your notice in a direct manner by means of an Act of Parliament.

It is of the greatest importance therefore for you, gentlemen, who are responsible for the local government of your respective towns to make up your minds as to what position you are going to assume when called upon to give your final decision.

I trust that these notes will be helpful to you. I refer to the Bill to provide for the establishment and control of locations, and other places of residence for natives in urban areas, and generally for the administration of native affairs in urban areas.

Before you can make a wise decision, and judge of the merits of the component parts of such a bill, it is advisable for you to consider the studied opinion of others, and more particularly of those capable men who have made the subject their life's study, and who have a practical knowledge of natives, their habits, their lives and customs.

I have therefore quoted the opinions of these men, and here acknowledge that I have made use of a paper on "The Natives of the Larger Towns," by J. S. Marwick, Esq., and of the "Presidential Address" by the Rev. William Flint, D.D., to the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, from a thesis presented for the degree of M.D. to the Edinburgh University, 1907, by Dr. Neil McVicar, and notes from *Health*, issued quarterly from Lovedale, where a Native University is being erected, and from the memorandum addressed to the Minister of Health by Sir George Newman, K.C.B., M.D.

The Mayor of a town is elected as such, because he is a man of affairs, he is the first citizen, his knowledge has been gained by a long and varied experience, he becomes a student of human nature, his advice is taken, because it is understood that he knows more about the internal economy of his town than perhaps anybody else; he is a leader of men, and holds that office by the will of his townsmen. He has, therefore, most important functions to perform, viz., the direction of the destiny of the people of his town.

I have been amazed at the carelessness and want of common-sense shown by Europeans in engaging natives for domestic purposes, by their folly in introducing them into their homes, without taking any trouble to see the houses or huts from which these natives come.

The influenza epidemic has now opened the eyes of some, who assisted at that time to nurse the stricken ones; but the majority know or care nothing about these things. The public want education for their own protection. If Europeans would only go, and see for themselves the filthy conditions under which natives live, they would think twice before admitting them to their houses while living under such insanitary conditions. The state of disease which the butchers' and bakers' men in many instances are in, are without exaggeration, terrible. If the mothers saw their nurse girls' surroundings and knew of their diseases, they would abandon their pleasures and nurse their own children rather than allow them to run the risks they do.

Lice, diphtheria, tuberculosis, skin diseases, infectious fevers and venereal disease are transmitted to the European child, and in some instances possibly to yourselves. Your washing is done by people often rotten with venereal and other diseases; your milk, bread, and meat may be at any time infected, and yet little is done to alter the existing state of affairs. These things are well known to you, who are public men. I mention them merely to persuade you that something has got to be done, if not in the interest of the native, from a selfish point of view at any rate in the interest of the Europeans and whites.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The first duty of Medicine is not to cure disease, but to prevent it. It will be conceded that life is crippled and curtailed by disease, that disease leads to incapacity, and premature death; that it is an axiom of Economics to preserve the fitness for work in the worker, that if the worker is diseased he will, if the disease is contagious or infectious, communicate the disease to the employer, and the rest of the community.

Hence it is the duty of the Custodians of the Public Health to

(i) Develop and fortify the physique of the individual, and of the community.

(ii) To prevent or remove the causes and conditions of disease and its propagation.

(iii) To postpone death.

The first line of defence is a healthy, well-nourished and resistant human body. For this end, the whole man must be dealt with, for he is something more than animal. His body is the instrument and expression of Emotion, Intellect and Will.

It is this psychological aspect of clinical and preventive medicine that has hitherto been neglected.

His life history, heredity, his family and domestic life, his personal habits and customs, his rest and occupation, his home, as well as his workshop must be considered; in short, the whole man as an individual, as well as a member of the community, must be dealt with, if you desire to get the best out of him, from an economic point of view. It must be remembered that a working man's capital is, as a rule, his health and capacity to perform a full day's work. If that is impaired, two things happen. First, if the bodily defence be undermined by stress and strain, the man falls a ready prey to disease; secondly, his whole industrial outlook is jeopardised, and instead of being an asset, he becomes by rapid stages a liability, and a charge on the community. So the aim of the Public Health Authorities must be the removal of the *occasion* of disease, and physical inefficiency, combined with the husbanding of the physical resources of the individual in such a way and to such a degree that he can exert his full powers, unhampered, at home, or in the workshops, over a reasonably long life, and with benefit and satisfaction to himself and all concerned. The ideal is to restrict not only the spread of disease, but its "*occurrence*."

For the health and physique of the people is the principal asset of a nation.

To attain this end, the following Sanitary Minimum is necessary:

(i) The supply of wholesome and sufficient water.
(ii) The prevention of the pollution of water.
(iii) The provision of sewerage disposal and utilization.
(iv) The regulation of streets and new buildings, and the healthiness of dwellings.
(v) The removal of nuisances.
(vi) The inspection of food.
(vii) The suppression of causes of diseases, and regulations in case of epidemics.
(viii) The provision for the burial of the dead without injury to the living.
(ix) The regulation of markets and public lighting.
(x) The registration of death and sickness.

To advise the local authority, in dealing with these requirements, an up to date and energetic medical officer must be appointed. His duty will be to ascertain the true causes of disease and death, more especially of epidemics increasing the rates of mortality, and the circumstances which originate and maintain such diseases and injuriously affect the public health.

It is also necessary to arouse the public conscience to a sense of responsibility for the evil conditions under which

masses of people live, and work in the municipal locations, and for the need of protecting those who are least able to protect themselves. For this purpose a new outlook is required —"*A developed apprehension of the meaning of Social Justice.*"

If there is to be any improvement in the defects of municipal locations, the principle must be *uniform.* The option afforded to each local authority by the "Native Urban Areas Bill," to govern its natives under existing legislation, or of adopting the provisions of the Bill, should be withdrawn. It must be co-ordinated and unified; the by-laws should not be framed by the local authority, which would cause undesirable diversity of ideas being applied to the treatment of natives.

There must be simplification, economy in administration, and effective co-ordination.

There must be differentiation of duty and co-operation between the local authority and the headmen of the location.

The beginnings of disease are still almost entirely ignored, the treatment provided for the majority of the sick is insufficient and inadequate. There are very few native trained nurses, few public dispensaries, and not sufficient distribution of disinfectants and medical necessities.

Whole groups of diseases are neglected as far as prevention is concerned, for prevention has been too exclusively concerned with certain infectious diseases, and much disease is allowed to go by "default," untended and untreated. The provision of facilities for residential hospital treatment for patients requiring it, falls far short of what is necessary, if they are to be healed, and returned to the ranks of efficiency.

Large sums of money are being spent upon education, which might better be devoted to preventive and curative medicine. It is little use spending money upon the education of natives, who shortly are going to die from the ravages of tuberculosis, influenza, typhus, enteric, small-pox, pneumonia and other diseases, when the locations are centres of infection and disease, and the housing a disgrace to civilization. The gross overcrowding and domestic insanitation spell inevitable disease and degeneration of the race, while the infant mortality is appalling. We are spending money upon potential corpses.

Wise government depends on the consent and support of the governed, and these predicate an educated, enlightened and well-informed public opinion. It is then the duty of the general public to support their municipal governors, to see that a fair proportion of public money is spent, first on public health, and secondly on education. Municipalities must be helped to have robust and healthy imaginations, and it is the electors who must help them.

It is folly for the people to become indifferent to, or suspicious of, their elected governing bodies. Knowing what they want, they should help their municipalities to get it.

Mr. Much Afraid sits in most Councils, and fear is infectious.

It is for the people to encourage him, to do the best for their district.

The question of the improvement of the social condition of the native is, at first sight, so immense that many regard the solution as hopeless. The problem is so perplexing that it is with the greatest difficulty that you can get anyone to interest himself in the matter.

The trouble is increased by the fact that there are two distinct classes of natives that you have to deal with. There is the man with the blanket in the first instance, and in the second the partly civilized town native, who wears trousers and has a leaning towards following the customs of the European in his method of living. The former is comparatively easy to deal with, as he has not been spoilt by civilization, and his native habits seem to suit his requirements and his health; but the latter is of an inferior physique, has learnt to prefer bakers' bread to mealies, and all the other artificial methods of living, such as stewed tea and alcohol, wears rags instead of a blanket, and sleeps at night in an overcrowded room.

Now in the municipal locations you have these two types more or less mixed, and you have to provide for them both.

It is a very difficult thing to induce natives to improve their homes and make them healthy.

These workers have generally no security against dismissal or removal; they naturally will not trouble to put up houses, such as men build who live on their own land. They have no security of tenure.

The natives must be imbued with the spirit of progress, otherwise all attempts for their advancement will fail.

"At present there is no health teaching in the schools, neither is there any teaching which is able successfully to combat the people's belief in witchcraft, a belief which by attributing diseases such as consumption to the supposed evil influence of jealous neighbours, places a most serious obstacle in the way of all reasonable thinking or action upon health matters." (Dr. McVicar, Lovedale.)

"Personal cleanliness is often neglected, even by those who pass examinations, their time being taken up with the pressure of their studies."

"The intimate relationship between education and the prevention of disease does not seem to be realised."

"If native teachers were taught the principles involved in sanitation, they would become most valuable assistants to the M.O.H., in warning and advising their people."

When I asked an experienced Magistrate what was the best way to remedy this defect, viz., the absence of cleanliness in the locations as they exist at present, he replied: Give them soap and water; and who is going to pay for it? They will use the soap right enough if you give it to them, but consider the cost. Where will you find the money?

I think Dr. William Flint's remark is a suitable reply to this question. He says: "The first practical difficulty in developing these aspirations arising out of native consciousness is the financial one—Money! Yes, it will cost money; so it does to keep out East Coast Fever; but Science says 'Dip,' and the money has to be found.

"It costs money to get better crops; but Science says 'Phosphates,' and they are obtained from somewhere."

Is it necessary to paint out the analogy? Vested interests say, "It will cost us much in the way of social prestige, return for our labour, and in the profits on our capital," but Science says, by every analogy of natural law, and by each disclosure of experiment, that "if the Best will not improve the Worst, then the Worst will drag down the Best."

"Social questions which involve money do not, after all, take long to right themselves by natural processes of readjustment."

Sir William Ramsay observes that "The test of civilization is prevision, care to look forward, to provide for to-morrow; the morrow of the race, as well as the morrow of the individual, and he who looks furthest ahead is best able to cope with Nature and to conquer her."

The habit of expectorating on the floor is responsible more than anything else perhaps, for the spread of tuberculosis. A Kaffir has no respect for a mud floor: it is simply ground to him. Dr. McVicar of Lovedale thinks that a change in the character of the floor might lead to a change in the way of treating it, especially if housewives were taught at school to keep the new kind of floor clean.

The average death rate—census 1904—from tuberculosis was 7.20 per 1,000 of the coloured and Bantu inhabitants of Cape Colony; this figure is four times as great as the death rate from the same causes in England and Wales.

The European death rate in the same year was 1.37 per 1,000. Since then it has rapidly increased.

"Before we can expect anyone to exercise the laws of hygiene adequately, he must have the necessaries of life."

Many natives are not eating enough food to keep them in health. The people are weak from want of food.

People cannot live upon maize alone; beans or meat must be added, and milk, or fruit, and vegetables.

Natives are beginning to get scurvy, because milk, fruit and vegetables have been so scarce owing to the drought. Lemons and potatoes are hard to get. Prizes should be given for the best kept gardens. Vitamenes are urgently wanted. The women cannot nurse their babies, the babies are suffering from deficiency disease.

If an underfed person takes ill with an acute disease, such as fever or dysentery, he has not the strength to fight it.

Dysentery accompanies famine. If an underfed person meets with an accident, or has an operation performed, his wounds will not heal.

Underfed children are slow and stupid. They cannot develop into healthy adults.

What is going to become then of our future labour market?

The after effects of influenza will injuriously affect the next generation. There will be a great increase of consumption.

In order to combat this, the whole question of the food of the native calls for the earnest attention of all thinking men and women.

Better methods of agriculture, and a greater variety of products are necessary. The land must produce more food, and especially vegetables.

The native should be compelled to attend to his garden and given seeds and instruction as to how and when to sow his seed.

The cost of white rice is high; that which is sold has the best part removed in the mill. It is inferior to maize. The native through his advisory board or council should be instructed to use the kraal manure on his garden.

They must also be taught that "either the people must destroy lice, or lice will destroy the people." Typhus fever has been allowed to go on too long. It is a preventive disease and should long ago have been stamped out if common-sense had been used. The natives should be properly dipped and their houses and bodies cleansed, and a large steam disinfector provided to cleanse beds, blankets and wearing apparel.

"There are 2,000 native teachers in the Cape Province. If they all talked to the children in their schools, what a widespread impression would be made! If these teachers talked week after week on the subject and questioned the children until every child had learned what had to be done to stop typhus fever, then you may be sure the parents would hear about it and something would be done."—*Health*, Lovedale.

The native question in urban areas is developing into one of the biggest problems of Native Administration in this country, because this class is growing so rapidly, and people have hardly begun to realize that we now have a permanent class of black city dwellers, for whom segregation is just as much necessary as in the country areas, in fact more so.

This new class of natives, which is being evolved, are mostly born in towns.

They have no traditions common to the country location natives.

They have generally no connection with, or rights in the communal locations now; they own no cattle and are merely the product of European civilization.

This class is rapidly increasing.

They can live neither like Europeans, nor live like raw natives.

Their lot is really far more miserable than the country native, who lives comfortably on the proceeds of a small allotment, owns a few cows and sheep, works for two months in the year on his land, and lives healthily.

The question before us is, Can municipalities do anything to better the lot of their labour reservoirs?

(*a*) by the provision of larger spaces for inevitable development;

(*b*) by giving some kind of recreation ground;

(*c*) by the appointment of a decent superintendent who is not merely a tax gatherer, but who will take an interest in tree planting and providing some amenities for the inhabitants;

(*d*) by setting apart a tract of ground which the better class natives can lease, or *buy* from the municipality, in small plots, on which substantial houses might be erected;

(*e*) by the establishment of an Advisory Board, or Council, to advise the municipality in matters of local interest and government, numbers to depend upon the size of the location—in Grahamstown say eight—to be elected by the resident householders yearly, to meet monthly, under the chairmanship of the Location Inspector, or perhaps better a member of the Town Council. The chairman must be a European. This advisory board would be something on the lines of the Glen Grey District Council, on a small scale, or the New Brighton, P.E., Village Management Board, which serves an excellent purpose by giving the people a voice in their own affairs, getting grievances ventilated and redressed, improvements effected, etc.

In Glen Grey half the members, that is six, are elected by the people and half (six) appointed by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the Magistrate.

This Council receives all the proceeds of the rates (10/- per head), amounting to £8,000 or so, and spends it, with the approval of the Governor, on roads, education, irrigation, fencing, agriculture, farms, breeding stock, etc., etc.

Why not apply this principle, that all revenue from the locations be devoted to

(*a*) Cost of administrative services;
(*b*) Surplus to improvements in the location.

Too many municipalities look upon the native location as a source of revenue.

All sorts of undertakings could be initiated by the municipality, profitable ones too, such as municipal washhouses and eating-houses, hostels, servants' registries, location building societies, hospitals, dispensaries, recreation halls, tennis courts, baths, and the sale of Kafir-beer by the local authority. All these they have in Durban, where they manage their natives splendidly.

As to the erection of new huts, the choice seems to be between

(*a*) Concrete—disliked by the natives because of the coldness of floor.
(*b*) Wood and iron, board floor—also disliked because draughty.
(*c*) Wattle and daub, with thatched roof: the natural home of the native, mud floor or darger.
(*d*) The house built with sod. only possible when there is a large quantity of grass and water available.
(*e*) Kimberley brick house, constructed by mud, fitted into a paraffin box as a mould and built up quickly, with iron or thatched roof, mud floor or wooden floor.

This type would be the cheapest, and was recently described in the *Spectator* as a new invention in England, as a remedy for the present house shortage.

This is the house put up generally by the Christian native, in the locations in the large native districts. The cost of a one-roomed house 14ft. by 16ft. would be £20, and they would be very durable, can easily be cleaned by smearing with cow-dung, both walls and floor, outside and inside.

The wattle and daub round huts (*c*) would be appreciated by all except the Christians, but they are not so durable as the square houses.

To keep them clean would not be so difficult as type (*e*), the square hut. Corners harbour dirt, and are difficult to

clean. The native likes everything in circles; they think in circles. After all, this is the type of hut that you find universally all over South Africa. It is as natural for a native to live in a round hut as a snake to live in a hole. If kept clean as they are in Kingwilliamstown, there is no reason why they should not be perfectly healthy, if ventilation be given by a pipe in the roof, domed like a mushroom, and a window which opens outwards. For this type it is difficult to get thatch and poles.

In Glen Grey, where there are upwards of 70,000 natives, the building of the round huts is done by native "experts," who are paid £3 for their labour, the owner providing all the materials.

The objection to the wattle and daub is the danger of fire—they are also cold without one. The kitchen is made as an annex, outside Dutch oven type.

Type (*a*) is too expensive in these times; the price of cement is prohibitive. Municipalities with stone crushers might supply the stone, and the native the labour; but the natives in many places refuse to occupy them.

The Rev. William Flint, D.D., in his lecture on Race-consciousness and the Scientific Spirit, says: "That the scientific spirit can with advantage be applied to the consideration of problems other than those which are merely physical is evidenced by the development of research investigations in matters pertaining to race and nationality which grow out of ideas rather than physical conditions."

"The social reformer must study human nature. He must be honest, tolerant and willing to face the truth. The scientific spirit bids us to ascertain the point of view of other races involved. The only true method of dealing with race consciousness is the candid recognition of the basal right of all races and every human being to live and advance, which must be followed by such readjustment of social relationships as may be found practical. Accepting the present superiority of the white race and its civilization, we cannot escape the obligations and responsibilities of that superiority.

To put the practical issue before you, I would say there are four directions in which native aspiration is reasonable:

(*a*) Fair wages.
(*b*) Better housing.
(*c*) Educational facilities.
(*d*) Political representation."

Earl Haig said recently: "These and other problems are solved by giving to all races, however insignificant, what we proudly regard as British freedom and justice, and thereby in the course of years levelling them up to our own standard."

To return to (*b*)—better housing.

Of course, if you can get the money, the "educated native" will welcome the concrete house of three rooms—living room, kitchen, and sleeping room. This can be made by the dry or wet concrete method—the dry is preferable, but takes longer to build and is more expensive. This is the type of house found in Durban, but there they have a revenue from the sale of Kafir-beer. This sale of beer is a large question. When made of a very low percentage of alcohol, it is merely a food, and a man would require to drink gallons of it to make him drunk. But the taste of the Zulu is quite different from that of the Eastern Province Kafir. Those natives that drink here want strong drink, and wuold require to be educated up to, or down to (according to your personal opinions), the appreciation of this beverage; and if adopted, it would have to be a *sine quâ non* that a law for the total prohibition of liquor for natives be first passed and rigorously administered, and the supply of liquor to registered natives stopped.

Failing the revenue raised from the sale of Kafir-beer, the Government must find the money. It is a national duty. If the concrete or stone or brick house is to be built, the question then arises as to whether it would not be well to build two types of hut:

(i) Concrete for civilized natives.

(ii) Round huts with ventilation and windows for the others.

By the courtesy of the Town Clerk, Durban, I am able to give you details of the accommodation and the cost in that location—consisting of one three-storey block and four two-storey blocks, containing 264 dormitories, and accommodating 1,078 males, these five blocks costing £36,576. In addition to these there are sixty cottages in five terraces of twelve, for separate married quarters, accommodating 233 souls, costing £14,460; also a native women's hostel for 100 women at a cost of £2,124, and barracks are also provided for 2,200 Togt labourers.

The rental for the married quarters is 15/- per cottage per month; the other quarters are 5/- per month.

Light, water and the use of the kitchen are free of cost.

The cost of administration is £4,331, which includes salaries, insurance, repairs, maintenance of stationary light, water and telephones.

The Town Council charges £409 assessment rates and £1,250 ground rent.

The Manager, Municipal Native Affairs Dept., has kindly furnished me with the following description of the buildings under the control of the Durban Corporation, for the information of this Congress.

Durban,
19th April, 1920.

To Dr. Saunders.

Under the Togt Act, Natal, No. 28 of 1902, and the Native Beer Act, No. 23 of 1908, two distinct funds for native purposes are constituted. The Town Council is entrusted with the control of the Togt Fund, which is made up of revenue accruing from Togt licences, viz.: a monthly payment of 5/- by each Togt man or day labourer. Under Act 23 of 1908, regulating the monopoly for the sale of native beer, all revenues accruing under that Act are also administered by the Town Council and must be paid to the credit of a special account known as the "Native Administration Fund." The moneys of the fund may be used:

(*a*) To defray expenses in connection with the administration of the Act,
(*b*) For establishing a location under Act 2 of 1904,
(*c*) The establishment of schools for natives,
(*d*) Providing hospital accommodation for natives, or contributing towards the upkeep of existing hospitals, and
(*e*) any other object in the interests of the natives.

Native Location for Males. These buildings are double-storied, constructed of brick and concrete. Some of the rooms contain five beds, others ten. There is a verandah on one side, with a closed passage about five feet wide between each block. The space between the verandahs of each block is about twenty feet. The latrines and shower bath-houses are connected with the sewerage system. There are two commodious kitchens approximately forty feet square, each having eight large open fire-places and wash-up place formed of concrete in the centre.

There is a dining-hall built of brick with tiled roof with accommodation for 500 persons, and a recreation hall. An equafix and disinfectant plant are in use. The area of the grounds is 5 acres 32 perches.

Married Natives' Quarters. (Area 2 acres.) The buildings are single-storied, constructed with brick walls, concrete floors and tiled roofs. They are arranged in terraces of twelve dwellings, each consisting of two rooms fourteen by thirteen feet, verandahs five feet wide back and front, yard twenty-six by fifteen feet, at the back of which are provided a small pantry eight feet by three feet, a coal house eight by four feet, and a washing gulley.

Hostel for Native Women. (Area 3 roods 35 perches.) These premises are about one mile from the centre of the town in the opposite direction to the Native Location. It is constructed of wood and iron with a cencrete floor. Different sized cubicles have been formed in the building each with a

floor space of thirteen feet by ten feet. In each cubicle are three beds. A charge of 3d. per bed per night is made for those in cubicles and 1d. per bed per night for those in dormitories. The latter are composed of two compartments of equal size (twenty-five by twenty-two feet), with twelve beds in each compartment.

Togt Barracks, Bell Street. (Area 2 acres 3 roods 26 perches.) This compound is composed of eighteen double-storied buildings with corrugated iron walls, concrete floors and a verandah at one side of each block. Every block of six rooms has a kitchen with open fireplaces and a wash-up place in the centre.

Togt Barracks, Ordnance Road. (Area 11 perches.) The buildings are built of brick with malthoid roofing and concrete floor. Accommodation is provided for 460 Togt or day labourers. A spacious kitchen has been provided for cooking purposes.

All the native institutions, including eating houses established at convenient centres of the Borough, are provided free with electric light, water, and the use of kitchens.

Supervision. *Native Location.* The Manager of the Location is resident at the Location and he controls the Married Natives' Quarters, Location and Togt Barracks, Ordnance Road. His duties are to let the cottages and rooms for occupation, and he exercises a close supervision over the natives' mode of living. He endeavours in every possible way to point out to them habits of cleanliness, order and punctuality, whilst in their spare time he arranges recreation for the natives.

A separate bed is provided for each native and each room has facilities for the hanging up of clothes. The Married Natives' Quarters are about three minutes' walk from the Single Male Quarters.

*Women's Hostel.* This institution is supervised by a Matron who resides in a cottage adjoining the hostel. The premises are within a galvanised iron enclosure and no male adults are admitted. Her duties are to supervise the cleanliness and arrange the order in which beds are let for occupation. The Matron endeavours to find employment for the inmates.

*Togt Barracks, Bell Street.* The Togt Compound Manager is stationed in the enclosure surrounding the barracks. His duties are to maintain supervision with regard to the prevention and idling of the Togt men, and to see to the cleanliness of the quarters. The barracks are in close proximity to the docks, and this class of labour is largely employed in connection with the shipping at the Point.

*Domestic Servants.* When sleeping accommodation to the satisfaction of the Town Council is provided by employers, domestic servants and natives employed in stores and ware-

houses are exempted from the provisions of the Location Act, No. 2, 1908.

As pointed out in the telegram despatched to you yesterday—a copy of which is enclosed—it is regretted that plans of the buildings could not be obtained at short notice. Should there be any further information which may be useful in connection with the deliberations of the Congress, this Department would be pleased to furnish details.

Yours faithfully,

P. E. Chandley
(for Acting Manager).

Mr. E. Grattan has sent me the following valuable letter:

Office of the Superintendent of Natives,
New Brighton Location,
28th April, 1920.

Dr. F. A. Saunders,
Church Square,
Grahamstown.

Dear Sir,

There is an Advisory Board established by regulation. It consists of six members, four of whom are elected by the residents and two are nominated by the Government annually.

The Superintendent of Natives is the Chairman, and copies of minutes are submitted to the Secretary for Native Affairs through the Magistrate of the district.

This procedure ensures the Native Affairs Department being kept in touch with the location and with the views, needs and aspirations of the residents. A similar system, the minutes being submitted to the Town Council, should, I think, have good results in a municipal location (this is a Government location).

The functions of the Board are strictly advisory. There is here, and would be elsewhere, a section of the residents which regards the Board with suspicion and criticises it unmercifully. An Advisory Board, however, is an excellent institution and both individually and as a Board acts as a brake on the hot headed and is the means of bringing to light any grievances which the residents may have.

There is a "Chairman of Public Meetings" who is elected by the residents. He is not recognised by regulation, but I recognise him, and no public meeting is permitted in the public hall unless the request comes through him. In practice no public meeting, even though not held in the hall, is held without my being notified by him and my permission obtained. This system acts well as it makes it necessary that

the Chairman shall be a responsible native, he being personally responsible to me for the proper conduct of public meetings.

My Department has approved of the principle that the management of a location is a "one man job," or, as it is put officially, the principle of single control is recognised and approved of. That is carried out here. It suits the native conception of government and ensures matters being dealt with by a man who knows the native and is known by them. Thus, here, the administrative work, police work, prosecuting, post-office, maintenance and sanitary work, and in many details the dispensary work, all come under the control of the Superintendent, and he is directly responsible for the proper conduct of everything connected with the location.

Natives are amenable to reason and very sensitive to sympathetic treatment (not weak sentimentality), and the system of having one head to whom they can and do look for everything, has here resulted, on several occasions, in serious labour troubles being averted (among other good results).

I need hardly emphasise that it is particularly necessary to see that a square man is not put into a round hole.

There is a regulation here making it an offence for a resident to refuse to obey a lawful order given by the Superintendent personally or through one of his officers. The penalty is £5 or one month's imprisonment with hard labour. "Lawful" in this sense means in connection with the supervision and administration of the location. It is a very useful and necessary provision to enable the Superintendent to deal easily and swiftly with obstinate and unreasonable people. It has been very seldom necessary to make use of this regulation except as a demonstration of the necessity of obeying orders.

No "social gatherings" are permitted except in the public hall, churches or schools, after the hour of 10 p.m. on Mondays to Fridays and after 11 p.m. on Saturdays, and none at all on Sundays. The Superintendent can give extension of time, but this is very, very seldom done.

It enables the Superintendent to see that people who have to go to work and those who like a quiet night are not kept awake by the jollifications of their neighbours.

Every native has to be in possession of an identification card, unless he or she is included in the family of the registered occupier of a house, and then they appear on the back of the occupier's card. The police can demand the production of the card at all reasonable hours.

The location is divided into sections for purposes of control. Each section is called a "ward," and the native official in charge is called a "wardsman" or "headman." This is a very important part of the administrative machinery and is,

I consider, an essential part if the proper registration and supervision is to be carried on. Through the headmen any information regarding their employees, which may be required by firms or individuals in town, can be supplied almost forthwith on enquiry being made by telephone to my office.

No liquor is allowed to be in possession of anyone in the location without a permit signed by the Superintendent. I give permits for a very limited quantity of Kaffir beer to approved residents and on certain conditions. Even a tablespoonful over the quantity covered by the permit is punished by a fine of £5 or three months' hard labour.

Yours very truly,

E. Grattan.

Mr. D. McLaren, Superintendent of Locations, has kindly furnished me with the following details of the Municipal Locations and their management in Kingwilliamstown:

Office of the Borough Ranger and Forester,
Kingwilliamstown.

### Details of Municipal Locations, Kingwilliamstown.

Ginsberg and Isolo Locations consist only of round Kaffir huts, 18ft. diameter, 12ft. high, with two windows and door; concrete huts about the same size are now being built, with the addition of a fireplace. All the huts are the property of the Council. The rent of the ordinary Kaffir hut is 7/6 per month, and the concrete huts 12/6 per month. Free and abundant water is supplied, also two bundles of dry wood is allowed to each hut holder twice weekly free of charge. Sixteen latrines are provided, eight for males and eight for females; these are on the dual pail system, and are inspected daily. Distance between each hut 33ft. There is also a piece of land to each hut 45ft. by 50ft. for garden purposes, also a 12ft. roadway between each row of huts. Number allowed to each hut five only; overcrowding is strictly guarded against. No stock of any description is allowed to be kraaled in the locations. All strangers must obtain a permit to visit the locations and must state where they are from and the nature of their presence in the locations, and a permit may be granted for a limited period only. No able-bodied natives are allowed to live in the locations unless they are in some employment. No washing of clothes is allowed under any conditions, and all cases of sickness, no matter how small, must be reported by the inhabitants to the Headman immediately. This important matter is strictly impressed upon the natives, and any concealment in this regard is most severely dealt with and in every case the offender is prosecuted. Tea meetings and concerts are allowed under permit on Saturdays only up to 12

midnight. There are five places of worship; the most of these buildings are used during week-days for school purposes. These places of worship are all recognised religious denominations; no travelling preachers are allowed to hold service in any of the locations without permission. There are no cases of consumption in Ginsberg or Tsolo Locations.

D. McLaren,
Superintendent of Locations.

The extension of the monopoly system for the sale of native beer to all urban areas of the Union is part of the policy of the Native Urban Areas Bill.

Mr. J. S. Marwick says: "The misgivings of some as to whether the monopoly system for the sale of native beer will or will not tend to an increase of the drink habit among the natives, are the doubts of honest men, and I do not think they can be resolved without longer experience and more watchfulness over the definite trend of the system."

Of course the enormous revenue derived from the sale of the beer has enabled Durban to find the money for "the beautiful location, with baths, electric light and well furnished with modern accommodations and the native market where the natives are accorded full liberty to sell, and do as they like without hindrance, and without being ousted by their superior neighbours, the white people." (Dr. Edward Motsamai of Maseru.) He also says: "Though strongly opposed to the use of strong drinks, yet I feel persuaded to admit the wisdom of the department in making due allowance to the non-Christian people of a few gallons of light Kaffir beer, which acts as a safety valve to their strong propensity to strong drink. In a word, everything made by the department for my native people in Durban has entirely given me much satisfaction and true confidence in the department."

Consideration should be given to the native's traditional idea of native beer—as a food, and of the lowest alcoholic standard possible.

Mr. J. S. Marwick says: "With regard to the financial provision, the bill is impracticable."

The Government does not assume any responsibility in the Native Urban Areas Bill; it merely authorises the local authority:

(*a*) to borrow money for native purposes on the security of the municipal rates and subject to repayment out of revenue derived from natives;

(*b*) to collect rents from native tenants in locations and hostels;

(*c*) to collect fees from employers, for the registration of native contracts;

(*d*) to administer a monopole for the sale of native beer;

(*e*) to invest any surplus money accruing to the Native Revenue Account.

The whole of the financial provisions of the bill are a negation of the principle that the control and administration is a NATIONAL DUTY.

"It is made to appear as one of purely municipal concern; money is to be borrowed on the security of the municipal rates, rents are to be collected from native tenants, fees from the employers of natives, and profits from the sale of beer."

"In every one of these activities, there is the danger that the non-native ratepayers' interests will outweigh those of the natives, or that in the raising of revenue from the sale of beer and collection of rents, the best interests of the natives will suffer."

The undertakings required should be provided by the Central Government.

"The Government, recognising the inability of the natives of Natal to fight East Coast fever among their cattle, advanced £90,000 from the Land Bank to pay for the building of dipping tanks."

LOANS TO MUNICIPALITIES. "A more devastating scourge —that of demoralisation—is making its way among the natives themselves through the condition of the towns, and if the Government will not grant the money to establish better conditions, it cannot do less than establish a Natives' (Capital) Works Loan Fund to meet the responsibilities of local authorities, the money to be repaid in easy instalments."

The estimates, for the protection of the Government, could be first submitted to and approved by the Government.

This would mean economy in administration.

Every Town Council should be required to provide a bureau to see to the control and well-being of the natives.

The Department in Durban gives assistance to the illiterate people, parents and guardians, in securing return to their homes of minors and others whose absence occasions distress. Letters are written to other centres to native affairs officers with reference to the absence of fathers and relatives who have left their people destitute.

Disputes are amicably settled between European employers and natives, and advice given in disputes.

Deaths of natives are notified to their relatives, and when killed by accident, the recovery of compensation is applied for. In a word, the Town Councils should be constituted the guardians in law of all natives killed or injured, and prosecute for compensation. The system of deferred pay is desirable,

in order to teach the native thrift and to provide for his old age.

There should be a supply depôt to provide clothes, and other necessaries, at as near cost price as possible, and so save the native from the extortion of the small shopkeeper or Chinaman.

Individual Responsibility on the part of every European and native is the true ideal. Remember, gentlemen, the words of John Ruskin and Francis Galton. The former says: "There is as yet no ascertained limit to the nobleness of person and mind which the human creature may attain, by persevering observance of the laws of God respecting its birth and training"—and the latter: "It is earnestly to be hoped that political action will be taken to raise the present miserable, low standard of the human race."

There is nothing either in the history of domestic animals or in that of evolution, to make us doubt that a race of men may be formed, who shall be as much superior, mentally and morally, to the present as the modern European is now to the lowest of the Negro race.

Remember—Section 8 of the Native Urban Areas Bill provides the necessary and salutary power for the Union Government to step in and force slack municipalities to do their duty by the natives.

From the Report of the Delegation *re* Native Housing appointed by the Johannesburg Town Council, kindly sent me by Professor W. M. Macmillan, I find that at the Native Location (Waaihoek), Bloemfontein, the occupants have practically security of tenure; they pay 6/- a month, which includes water, sanitation and ground rent.

The buildings are erected by the natives themselves at their own cost, under the supervision of the Municipal Buildings Inspectors.

The type of the building is sun-dried brick, with pitched or lean-to roofs, and wood or cow-dung floors. In the event of a native leaving, he can either sell the house to an individual or the Council will take it over. There are trained nurses in the location, under the supervision of the M.O.H., Dr. Tomery. There is a tram line near the location. They have an Advisory Board; the members of the Board are paid a salary of £6 per annum by the Council. Every three months a sub-committee of the Council visits the location, when all grievances are laid before it.

Every penny taken from the natives is spent on them again, even if the municipality is losing money in other directions. A native desiring to build a house is given wood and iron to the value of £50, which amount he can repay over a

period of two years or so. At present the Council has loaned £169,000 at 6 per cent., and has a reserve fund of £4,000 in case of bad debts.

The scheme has been in existence for about five years, and is an unqualified success.

New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, the railway running past it. There are 1,184 buildings, of wood and iron, with pitched roofs and wooden floors. Water is laid on, and the bucket system of sewage disposal is in vogue.

Population 4,104: adults, 2,809; children, 1,295.

The terraced blocks are let to married people and the semi-detached to single persons.

This location also contains concrete houses, with concrete roofs and floors, and a few rondavels constructed of wattle and daub and roofed with a thatch. The rentals charged are as follows: Married men, 5/- a month; single men, 3/- a month. For a house known as "B" grade, which has a kitchen apart from the house, a rental of 6/- a month is charged, whilst for an "F" grade house, which includes a kitchen, 7/- a month is charged.

The rooms in the terraces are 20ft. by 14ft., the partitions being put up at the will of the occupiers. Some of the blocks have separate kitchens detached from the main blocks. There is a train service of five trains per day, the fare being 7d. return. The traders in the location are white people; the licence costs £5 per annum. The traders pay £2 a month stand rent, and erect their own buildings, which must be removed if required at a month's notice.

At Korsten, the buildings are of all descriptions, and some bad slum properties. The sizes of the stands are 80ft. by 100ft. and some 50ft. by 40ft.

This township is not lighted, nor is water laid on.

Illicit liquor trading is rife. One house visited by the delegation consisted of one room, without window or proper ventilation, and for this a rental of 5/9 per month was charged.

The delegation arrived at the following general conclusions:—

(i) That when the building of houses is left entirely to the natives, the locations present a very squalid appearance, and the conditions are frequently insanitary;

(ii) that buildings erected of sun-dried brick have a neat and comfortable appearance, when first erected, but harbour vermin. The first cost is undoubtedly cheap, but the expense of upkeep would be heavy, even if the right kind of material is at hand in the location;

(iii) that wood and iron buildings should not be erected for letting purposes;

(iv) that concrete buildings are unacceptable to the natives owing to their coldness, but that the maintenance cost would be less than any other material of equal price;

(v) that lean-to roofs are more common in all locations than a pitched roof, owing to the cost being less;

(vi) that concrete floors are not liked by the natives—they prefer wood, or cow-dung floors;

(vii) that married natives prefer detached buildings—that they should be fenced and suitable receptacles provided for rubbish;

(viii) that separate earth-closets for each house give better results than common latrines erected for both male and female some distance from the houses; wherever possible, a water-borne sewerage system should be adopted;

(ix) that suitable wash-places should be provided, with the sexes segregated, and that hot and cold water be installed, together with suitable areas for drying clothes;

(x) that suitable ablution houses under cover, and with concrete floors, should be provided for each sex, fitted with shower and shallow bath for females;

(xi) that private trading in the location is not desirable; all trading should be carried on by the municipality, and the profits devoted to the betterment of the natives;

(xii) that a main hall should be provided without charge for its use, except for private functions, and that a recreation ground is desirable;

(xiii) that experienced, sympathetic and efficient control must be secured; that the administration, supervision and upkeep of a location is of greater importance than any particular form of construction;

(xiv) that no buildings should be allowed to be erected by a native, except under proper rules and regulations;

(xv) that any surplus revenue derived from the natives should be used for improvements at the location, and for the benefit of the natives;

(xvi) that the streets in the location should be properly lighted;

(xvii) that the communal kitchen should be only adopted for single men;

(xviii) that the keeping of livestock should only be allowed subject to proper regulations, in connection with a Native Advisory Board.

They recommend:

(*a*) That the type of house for married natives be 9in. solid brick walls, lean-to, corrugated iron roof, cow-dung floor, and a verandah; detached, with the addition of a small kitchen, under a verandah. Each house to cost £143.

(*b*) That the quarters for single natives be erected in terraces of eight rooms, 17ft. by 14ft. each, with a communal kitchen.

(*c*) That a separate earth-closet be provided for each house for married people, and that one earth-closet of the "squat" type be provided for every four rooms for single men.

(*d*) That the natives be allowed to erect approved outhouses, on the distinct understanding that no building so erected should be used for living purposes, and that they be kept in a proper state of repair.

(*e*) That a Standing Committee, to be styled the Municipal Native Affairs Committee, be appointed to deal with all matters affecting native administration and housing.

(*f*) That an Advisory Board, with a chairman appointed by the Council, be elected; half of the Board to be elected by the Council and half by the location residents; and further, that the native members be paid a small annual stipend. Such Advisory Committee to be appointed and elected annually.

(*g*) That the Council consider the granting of long leases on favourable terms, with a view to encouraging building by natives themselves on approved lines.

(*h*) That the Council consider the advisability of making bricks by contract on the site.

It is impossible to run a satisfactory housing scheme as a paying proposition in itself.

Where it does pay is in better work, less dirt-borne sickness, less danger from slum-bred epidemics to our selfish white aristocracy.

The cost of the "flu" epidemic would pay for a good many houses; the economic value of 50,000 workers now dead would mean millions of money saved to the country!

### New Model Location. Summary.

I fully realize that some of the remedial measures which I have just indicated can only be effectively dealt with by the Legislature; but there are schemes less comprehensive which would not only abate a growing evil, but also lay the foundation of a new policy capable of infinite development.

Such a one would be the establishment of a new location for aboriginal natives only, on an entirely new site adjacent to existing locations, or otherwise.

The scheme need not necessarily be a large one: a few thousand pounds would be enough to start a village.

This would be an immediate remedial measure and is well within the means of local authorities big and small.

A. You would draw up your plan, with strict regard to sanitary and hygienic considerations.

B. Decide upon the type of house, probably a terrace or separate houses of

(i) Concrete, with wood floor, and fireplaces for the Christians, with municipal tenure.

(ii) Round hut, with two windows and door for ventilation, and fireplace, as in Kingwilliamstown.

C. Have strict laws, such as only workers to live there; regulations reganding visitors and their exclusion after limited period; washing; reporting sickness; and public worship.

This is the only way you can keep complete control. You need not go to Parliament to do this.

What I wish to impress upon your minds is that your great difficulty is the coloured or half-bred portion. He is the worst offender. He is not dying out, like the Hottentot is. He has the vices of both races—plenty of cheek, and is the cause to a great extent of the increase of crime. I know that there are many exceptions, but I am speaking of the majority who reside in the vicinity of the larger towns.

The only way to deal with him, is to keep him out of the aboriginal location, as they do in New Brighton, Durban and Kingwilliamstown.

He must be planted in a location of his own, or the difficulty in the future will become enormous.

The townspeople would know then where to go to get their servants, and would only engage those from the new location.

You can borrow money for this purpose, and it would be a paying proposition. You would impose a rent to cover annual interest.

Later on you would give compensation, under a Bill, to clear out the natives who hold title from the Government, and demolish the paraffin tin house and insanitary mud hovels now disfiguring the location, and substitute for these decent houses, and so improve theamenities of your town.

This scheme is within the power of any Town Council. Consider the alternative if you don't.

The danger is increasing daily.

The Diagrams and Plans of Bloemfontein Location which are on exhibition, have been kindly supplied by the Town Clerk, W. A. Koller, Esq., Bloemfontein, together with much valuable written information which has been used in this Paper.